576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [448] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed to the development of this situation should be pointed out. These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

773/64 cont./ not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[484] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

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769 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
714 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaëng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

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"From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, who accordingly was presented to the administration at Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66L is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they declare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with their wishes (1).

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1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately result in a power formation within the adat community, which the adat community head does not like to see. To an even greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat community/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

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634 /128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities,
662 even though in this position they merely carried out the com-
557 mands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant," said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

175 If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get
648 the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power-relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

175 /128 cont./ conducted their policies. The princes saw in the
648 Netherlands East India Company and, later, in the Government of the Dutch East Indies not the ruler who had to be driven out by the concentration of all forces /129/, but a new power center, which they drew upon in their mutual oppositions and which they utilized to realize their political aims.

The N. E. I. Company was attacked whenever its position was regarded as weak. As soon as the number of troops in Macassar was decreased, or a squadron had again departed from the Macassar roadstead, the tone of the opponent's letters changed (1). The N. E. I. Company was repeatedly defeated

1. E. g., in the conflict between the Queen of Bone, Bataritodja, and Governor Smout, around 1730. "The impudent conduct of Bataritodja was primarily caused by the decrease of our troop strength at Macassar. There was urgent need for military reinforcements on Java"; see Eerdmans, p. 291.

[183] but never destroyed. That fits in with the Makassarese habit of thought. It is regarded as sufficient if the defeated opponent is the weaker one in the ensuing discussions. Whenever the N. E. I. Company was attacked, it always found support from those who did not like to see an increase in the attacker's power.

This state of affairs lasted until 1905. At that time the whole of South Celebes was subjected to the authority of the Dutch East Indies Government. It was only then that the boundaries of kingdoms, adat communities, and kampongs were fixed. These boundaries have subsequently been adhered to as much as possible.

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the
Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
●648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

600 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 ● 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

177 /132/ corresponded completely to the line of developments.
648 The struggle for the hegemony of South Celebes herewith entered into a subsequent stage.

The princes of Bone and Goa became, respectively, chairman and vice-chairman of this body (1). It is to be expected

1. Concluded as of December, 1949.

that Goa will continue its struggle for the hegemony by endeavoring to capture the chairmanship of the Hadat Tinggi, an attempt that, if Goa should ever succeed in doing so, will subsequently be conducted in the same manner and with the same means by the kingdom which will then occupy the second position of power.

648 The people of South Celebes, and most of all the princes, know that they are part of a larger whole. Each power center situated outside South Celebes which wants to exercise influence in this area is regarded by the princes as a possible aid in attaining their ideal, hegemony. They are constantly striving for a single large kingdom encompassing the whole of South Celebes, where there will be peace. They think that this is possible to attain only for a prince of ideally pure extraction, one who possesses to the highest degree the ideal personal qualities.

Opposition is therefore conducted on the highest imaginable plane -- for South Celebes. The prince who has the leadership of the High Hadat will continue to strive toward the collapse of power of the other realms in order to strengthen his own position as well as that of his group of relatives, and in order to give them a greater durability. The possibility of conducting opposition will, however, always continue to be present with one of the other groups, if only for the reason that no prince can be of ideally pure extraction or can possess the ideal personal qualities.

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/134 cont./ Shortly after the formation of the federated state of East Indonesia, the Makassarese Nadjamuddin daeng Malewa became prime minister. He belonged to a related group of officials living in Macassar and, aside from possessing a particularly keen intelligence and /135/ quick mind, he was endowed with those personal qualities which the Makassarese regard as indispensable for a leading figure.

Each individual with particularly good personal qualities creates a tension in his group of relatives. The tension which the Nadjamuddin aroused was simply of special dimensions.

The unity of this group of relatives was reinforced by the pressure from outside. After the formation of the new federated state, there developed in the ministries at Macassar a silent struggle between the various population groups -- Ambonese, Balinese, Makassarese, Menadonese -- for official positions. Under the pressure of the others, the Makassarese joined forces.

The new premier understandably found no Parliament that was able to comprehend the place ascribed to him in western Europe. The clearly defined rights and obligations, tied as they are in Europe to the ministers, could not be directly communicated here. As a result, the premier again resorted to the ancient Makassarese pattern of government.

Nadjamuddin ruled via his kinsmen and followers, who were active as officials in the ministries. In the Makassarese view, therefore, they constituted at the same time the highest social class.

The idea that this rule would be merely temporary, since, after all, it was dependent upon political conditions, was foreign to them.

The fall of Nadjamuddin as prime minister was conceived by the Makassarese as an impairment of his social standing and therefore also of theirs. The feelings of siri', (1) which came into being through this state of affairs

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/135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

[D87] A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the existing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taëna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

668 /137 cont./ Turkish Government would shortly come to replace Dutch rule, and the 'Companiya' had to be driven out of the land." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

The person who predicts the coming of salvation is the leader of the group, but he frequently lacks the noble blood and just as frequently the personal qualities which the Makassarese otherwise expect in a leader. His followers are those who purchase the djimat and who learn the prescribed ritual. They do not have the feelings of loyalty toward him either which are otherwise customary in a relationship of followers. It therefore seems better not to speak of a followers' relationship in this connection. The only tie which exists is based upon the belief in his prophecies. To proceed against such a group with armed force always brings rapid success. They practically never offer resistance. Actual overthrow of the existing government is not the prime target at which these people aim. If the forecasts are not realized soon, they wait. But once the leader has been imprisoned, the group collapses and the movement fails. [648 643] Such a movement was not only aimed against the government, but also against their own princes, when the Netherlands East Indies Company still occupied a completely unimportant position in Makassarese life. The princes at that time took just as effective countermeasures whenever such a movement was in the offing.

/138/ The expectation of salvation in South Celebes centers on the arrival of one of those strong personalities who in the history of the country played an important role by fighting successfully against the prince ruling at that time or else against Dutch rule. It is hoped that he will now succeed in his former striving, and that he will be able to drive out

1:Chabot--211 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
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1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks
● [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

171 The name of the dance probably betrays the land of
174 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed, " or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/, " /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
● 648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
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177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
●648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

1: Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1947. During the procession.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

After the inauguration, many try to obtain a bit of the earth next to the investiture stone. Compare page 66.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 7]

MK 642 I MK [648] MK [636] MK 101 T 101 MK 642 423 MK [211]

[374 cont.]
in arriere fee, and Tanette with Lipoekasi in arriere fee.

2. Allied states. The basis of our relationship with these states is the peace and alliance treaty concluded in 1667 by Speelman, known under the name of Buginese contract, which was renewed in 1824 by Van der Capellen. Their sovereigns are allies of the Government and have certain obligations to fulfill, such as the protection of trade, guarding against piracy, assistance in case of war, etc. They are free in the administration of the internal affairs of their state, but when ascending the throne, they must pay a visit to Makassar to be installed by the Government and to renew the contract.

These states can be divided by population into Makassarese and Buginese states. The most important Makassarese states are Gowa, and Laïkang; the Buginese states are Baróe, Soppeng, Adjatapparang, Mandar (at least in part), Loewoé, Wadjó, Tanette, and Boni. A third tribe that inhabits Celebes is the To-radja = mountain-dwellers. Among the principal Toradja states are Masinrimpoeloe and Laiwoei in particular.

The main features of the government are similar in all the states. The feudal system exists everywhere on southern Celebes. We have encountered this feudal system in the Malay states on Sumatra and Borneo, but not to the extent that it occurs here. In the first place the feudal system also arose here out of the sovereigns' practice of granting part of the land in fee to their children or relatives to provide for their support or to reward faithful servants. These feudal tenants are called paseadjingang = blood relatives, from the [375] word seadjing = brother. Another way that the feudal system arose was through war, when a weaker prince was conquered by a more powerful one. In the latter case the vanquished was allowed to govern his own land, but he was in the same position as the other feudal tenants. This kind of feudal tenant is called palili. The obligations of these feudal tenants to their liege lord are: to assist him in war, to appear at his court for ceremonial occasions, festivities, etc., and the

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad experiences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties would get much support. He also said that the relatively

OG11 Toradja OG11
To Kadomboekoe
Makassar OG6
Mandar

[The Basin of the Poso]

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/39 cont./

On the left shore of the Tomasa, not far from its mouth, there is a piece of land that bears the name of Tana-inoli, "bought land"; Kadomboekoe had ceded this land to Onda'e in former times. The story about this is as follows: Long ago Indo i Kolombio, the female Chief of Kadomboekoe, had invoked the help of Onda'e in order to kill her brother Patasi, /40/ because the latter had made her out to be a witch and declared that she had given birth to a black snake. She promised them for this a reward of two big pigs, which were called Saketo and Poela-tamoengkoe. The To Onda'e accepted the proposal, but they did not carry out the mission immediately because they first went to the coast to make salt. Only after several months had passed did they kill Patasi. When they now came for their reward, it appeared that the two pigs had been slaughtered for a funeral feast which the To Kadomboekoe had celebrated in the meantime. The To Onda'e were displeased at this, but they finally settled for the above-mentioned patch of land.

The To Onda'e never profited from this acquisition. They let the To Kadomboekoe lay out their fields freely on the land given away. In the beginning it may well have happened that To Onda'e traveling through Tana-inoli asked the To Kadomboekoe farming there for a chicken, some rice, and a piece of foeja (beaten tree-bark) for the use of their land, but long before our arrival this was no longer the custom.

The land of Bandoa was also bought from Kadomboekoe by Lage through a Chief who was named Tawoea-mbine. The mountain Siwo belonged to Lage and was sold to the To Wingke-mposo Tawojo-ndisa for one buffalo with six pieces of cotton and one pig with six pieces of cotton.

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In the first half of the last century Mandarese (called To Mene by the Toradja) must have had great influence in Kadomboekoe. How they got there and how numerous they were, no one can tell any more; it is certain that the whole tribe was converted to Islam by them. When the Mandarese returned to their land, they

OG11 Toradja OG11
Western Toradja OG12
Makassar OG6

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[262]

[The Basin of the Poso]

Mandar

When the /40 cont./ Mandarese returned to their land, they gave a multicolored flag to the To Kadomboekoe and said the following: "You are now Mohammedans, and if your descendants eat the meat of pigs we shall fine them 40 young female slaves." The grandfather of Papa i Melempo, who was Chief of the tribe when the Government came, was the last Mohammedan. Tampabanda (as he was called) lies buried near the former village of Aboki, and in his grave was also placed the only Koran in the country. The To Kadomboekoe claim that they returned to Heathenism because there was no one who could teach them to recite from the Koran.

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On their way back, the Mandarese must have traveled across the area called Ampibabo (on the west side of Tomino Bay), which until a few years ago recognized the sovereignty of Mandar (Tjenrana). A few of the To Kadomboekoe followed the Mandarese there and had descendants in Ampibabo, so that even now there is kinship between the two regions. When the above-mentioned flag had become unusable in 1895 because of age, it was taken to Ampibabo, and through the intercession of the Chief of this place a new one was obtained from Mandar. The To Kadomboekoe, however, did not recognize in any respect whatever the supremacy of Mandar.

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32. The history of the To Pajapi.

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Now it still remains for us to speak about the inhabitants of the district that lies to the west of the Poso River. Part of this land was formerly inhabited by a Toradja tribe, the To Pajapi, which has now as good as disappeared from Central Celebes, except for a small remnant. The history of this tribe is a sad one.

The To Pajapi (pajapi is the name of a tree) are a Toradja tribe about which the Bare'e speakers can not tell much. This is probably to be explained by the fact that they belonged to the West Toradja group, as the linguistic investigation determined.

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to this, then the Karadja had a sword and a spear brought to Wotoe, and then the Datoe of Loewoe' stepped in (this is not likely).

The Karadjas whom Ta Mantaha knew were: Ta Raeli, Raeli, Ta Lanto, Ta Landano, Ta ngKalendjae, Ta mBojagi, Ta ngKolabada, Ta nTelingka and Ta Modapi (two brothers who were Karadja together), Ta ngKonte'e, Ta Balie, Ta nTigi (Kontjo). When Ta ngKaledjae died and left no son, his daughter Ranta-loda (Indo i Dai) became Karadja. Matoa-bawa-lipoe left her in office, but installed Tambojagi, a brother-in-law of Ta ngKalendjae, as Karadja beside her.

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9. The rulers of the country. The Datoe of Loewoe'.

Now we come to the dominion of the rulers of Loewoe' (Palopo) over the Toradja. That is, the East Toradja recognized a few rulers as lords of the land. Most tribes named as such the ruler (datoe) of Loewoe'. The tribes in the northeast of the country had their own master in the ruler (djena) of Todjo; and the tribes in the east, in the plain of the Laa River, paid tribute to the ruler (datoe ri tana) of Mori. The first named, the Datoe of Loewoe', undoubtedly had the oldest rights, a supremacy which certainly dates from times immemorial.

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According to existing traditions this situation came about in the following way. In olden days the inhabitants of Wotoe on the north shore of the Gulf of Bone lived at the mouth of the Tjerekang; some give Malio as the name of their settlement. From here the people moved to Lampenai, a hill located between the Kalaena and present-day Wotoe. A little river, the Laaosa (called Laakarai by the people of Angkona), which in turn empties into the Pewoeso'i, /120/ "washing place," flows along there.

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At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Posot "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

T /122 cont./
648 century the Chief of Djaladja gained great influence at the court
631 of Palopo, because he sent the Datoe large gifts in buffaloes and
M rice. Thus it happened that the Datoe instructed the Chief of
• 648 Djaladja (his name was Ambe Ma'a) to accompany his envoy,
643 bypassing Wotoe. This caused bad blood at Wotoe. The
Toradja, however, never repudiated the Matoa (Matjoa), the
Chief of Wotoe, in favor of Ambe Ma'a.

T At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year,
M usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotoe that
648 it was time to collect the tribute for the Datoe. This was called
T mepoee, "to recognize the lord (poee)." As far as the lowland
631 was concerned, this was carried out by the village chief of
Tamoenkoe (Pebato), who for this purpose had been installed
by Loewoe' as tongko. This tribute consisted of beeswax, foeja
/beaten tree bark/, /123/ goat's hair to decorate lances, rice,
white chickens, and palm wine. All of this was brought by
Tamoengkoe to the Chief of Towale, and the latter delivered all
this, augmented with the homage from his own area, to the
Chief of Lamoesa. The latter was the general representative of
T the Datoe. Lamoesa lies in the plain of the Kodina, on the right
[103] bank of this river. Here, at a spot which bears the name of
Landea-ndopo, "where the waves rise upon the land," the envoys
from Palopo and Wotoe arrived. The Karadja of Lamoesa had to
provide the lodging and maintenance for these people as long as
T they stayed at the Lake. In this he was aided by the surrounding
[671] tribes. The adat prescribed that the envoys should not go farther
toward the north. When they finally left to return to their coun-
try, the Karadja sent along people who brought the tribute for
M the Datoe to Wotoe.
622 Wotoe at that time had various Chiefs. The Mandjara held
631 the highest rank. He was (and still is) installed by the Datoe,
648 but his authority limited him to the inhabitants of the little
T realm of Wotoe. As their lord in Wotoe the Toradja recognized
648 the Matoa- (Boeg. /Buginese/ Matjoa) bawa-lipoe, "he who

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622 /123 cont./
631 carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute
648 came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief
T who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief,"
648 the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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648 Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage
631 and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine
T years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon
648 Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they
567 paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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173 The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the
648 To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The
728 war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall
T of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the
173 assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which
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• 648 we can escape destruction is that some of us go directly to the
728 Datoe without stopping anywhere, just as a crocodile swims
T straight to his goal /124/ (monangoe boeadja). They must offer
173 a slave to the Datoe and surrender themselves to him for life or
648 death." This advice was followed. The Chiefs Tamoina,
567 Jamoenta, and Roemampoe set out; the slave Moloeëdi was
728 taken along as a gift. From Boeraoe on, Ambe Kando accompanied them to Palopo. The Datoe of Palopo received the envoys favorably on condition that the To Onda'e should provide a slave as tribute every nine years (4).

4. According to another version, Roemampoe took with him: a chicken, a basket (kapipi) of rice, a packet of pinang nuts, a packet of sirih fruits, a bamboo container of palm wine, and a piece of beaten tree bark. Having arrived at Palopo, he offered all this to the Datoe and surrendered himself for his mercy or displeasure. Mercy was granted to the To Onda'e under the above-named condition. Roemampoe took along from Palopo: a bata manoeroe, "the flag descended from the sky," which the ruler of Loewoe' planted near a village that he wished to punish with sickness; a taripa djandji, a mango tree which appears only in stories; and two types of yellow bamboo.

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648 11. The sphere of influence of Walboenta.
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T It was the Toradja tribes that lived in the so-called Poso de-
648 pression (the basin of the Poso) who recognized the Datoe of Loewoe' as lord and used the Chief of Wotoe as intermediary. In this latter respect two small tribes were an exception, the To Bantjea and the To Palande, the first on the west shore of the

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/124 cont./ Lake, the second on the east shore. These two tribes rendered honor to the Datoe of Palopo through the ruler, Makole, of Waiboenta. People were not able to explain to us the reason for thist it had always been thus. The traditions, however, point to circumstances that are connected with the departure of the ruler of Pamona to Waiboenta (I, 18, 27).

The story goes that the Toradja ruler and his entourage, after their departure from Pamona, stayed for some time in Bantjea, and that, when they moved on, a member of the kin group (an aunt?) of the ruler stayed in Bantjea with her party. Thus the tribe of the To Bantjea did not yet exist when Wotoe already ruled over the Toradja. Palande must have been populated from Bantjea; To Bantjea must in any case have mixed with the To Palande. This circumstance would then explain satisfactorily why these two small tribes brought their homage to the Datoe by way of Waiboenta. That this always annoyed Wotoe appears from the fact that the Wotoeërs, whenever they stayed at the Lake, were always eager to mulct and oppress (motengkoe batoe) the people of Bantjea.

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In a war that Waiboenta fought with Bada', in which it was completely beaten by these mountain Toradja (see West-toradjas, I, p. 308), Waiboenta offered its subjects in Bantjea, Palande, and Rato as war tribute to Bada'. After this time the To Bada' came to Lake Poso continually and exacted tribute from the small tribes named and oppressed them in all sorts of ways; they treated them completely as their slaves. /125/ The Lake dwellers now decided to buy themselves free of their new masters. The To Bantjea and To Palande gave nine slaves, and inhabitants of Rato and sago-washing basket (jïksi) with locally forged chopping knives. A man of Bantjea, named Lae-bagi or Ngkai-djanggo, who had married in Bada', led the negotiations on this occasion. This must have taken place in the first quarter of the last century.

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A considerable time after Bantjea and Rato had bought themselves free, a delegation from Waiboenta came to Bantjea to ask why tribute was no longer brought (mepoee) to Waiboenta. The answer ran: "Because you sold us to the To Bada', from whom we have again liberated ourselves." Then the envoys from Waiboenta concluded a treaty of friendship with Bantjea. On the side of Bantjea it was Talintoe who concluded the treaty; on the part of Waiboenta, La Bada appeared. Both ran some distance into the Lake. Then La Bada plunged his kris into the water and said to Talintoe: "Open your mouth." When the latter had done this, La Bada let the water drip from his kris into the mouth, while he said: "If you, To Bantjea, forget our agreement, your bodies will pass away just like this water which flows into your body" (ane ndisaja posintoewoe pai Waiboenta, da marege koromi ewa karege noe oee, anoe moili ri ra ngkoromi). Talintoe did the same to La Bada with his sword. Having reached dry land again, La Bada set up a stone at the foot of the hill on which the village lay. Both parties then took an egg in their hands and La Bada said: "If you, To Bantjea, break our treaty, your bodies shall pass away like this egg." At the same moment he dashed the egg to pieces against the stone. Talintoe did the same. -- This stone is still found in place; no honors are paid to it and no sacrifices are brought to it. All that happens is that now and then the weeds are removed a few meters around the stone.

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Since this time the relations between Bantjea and Waiboenta have always been good. Gradually the To Bantjea began to go along with the other Toradja in offering their tribute to the Datoe of Palopo by way of Wotoe. There was no special motive for this, unless it is to be sought in the expectation that in this way the harassments of Wotoe might come to an end.

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13. The power and prestige of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

We have never noticed any kind of policy of the Datoe toward the East Toradja. If the subjects (palili) simply fulfilled the above-named obligations, he did not bother further with their internal affairs. He calmly let the tribes wage war with one another. If the Toradja experienced molestation on the part of Mori or Sigi, they went to the court to complain about it, but real help was never granted. For example the Datoe never made an effort to rescue the East Toradja from the molestation that was done to them by the mountain tribes of the West Toradja. The Datoe, after listening to the complaint, handed them one or another miraculous remedy, through whose magic action the enemy would be driven back.

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The last time the Datoe helped his subjects in this way was in 1903. On the north shore of Lake Poso the Toradja had damaged and thrown into the water a memorial that had been erected there in memory of Chief Engineer R. Fennema, who had perished in the Lake in 1897. That is, the people believed that the continuous drought that scourged the country at the time was the result of the wrath of the spirits, because they (the Toradja) had admitted the Hollanders into the country. The administrative officer at Poso now asked for damages for the destruction of the memorial, but the people wanted to pay less than was asked. When the messengers of the administrative officer had returned to Poso, the Toradja thought that the soldiers would come and shoot them. They reinforced their villages and sent /127/ a few men to Loewoe' in order to inform the Datoe of the threatening danger and to ask him for help. The Datoe gave the envoys one bullet and a little bamboo container of gunpowder, enough for one shot, along with the message: "Fire this bullet with this powder at the Hollanders if they attack you, and they shall all flee from you." In the meantime, however, the request from the Government had been met, so that the bullet and powder were no longer necessary. The chief of Towale carried these objects afterwards as talisman.

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• 648 In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to
M the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was
643 brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with
the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all over-
T tures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts
114 to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, be-
648 cause the people did not want to know anything about this novelty,
871 from which they expected only disadvantages for their social
177 life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid
M behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his sub-
648 jects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any.
643 Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing,
they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the
648 gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or
643 aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength
[798] of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the
T deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of
648 these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the
ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our
god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never
T concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like"
[622] and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat
T untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

M The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely be-
648 cause of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe
M was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power
643 that emanated from his person was considered so great that an
[826] ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen
753 stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who
798 wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded
[761] in making their way to him, but the one died already on the
return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

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Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

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La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

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When La Dondorio had listened to this tale, he considered how he could escape the danger: If the women take me as a mate, I shall not come away alive; let me thus manage on my way to get a supply of penes. Where he got them from is not known, but he continued his journey with a supply of male genitalia in his boat. When he was approaching the coast of the island, the To Ngojoe saw that a man was coming to them. They came out of their houses and rushed to the shore and ran to meet him in the sea, for he would oblige whoever reached him first, and the others would have to fight over him.

La Dondorio saw them approaching and he said to the penes: "These are the To Ngojoe, who want to climb into our ship. When they have come close, you must fly up and every one must enter into the arse (tanta'i, but the vulva is surely meant) of each of them, so that they cannot approach me." The genitalia did this so that every one of the To Ngojoe was satisfied. With other men the women stormed their vessel so that it sank and the man drowned.

When all were satisfied, one of the women said to La Dondorio: "You, La Dondorio, are truly a clever man, for you are the only one who is leaving here alive. Therefore we wish to give you something to show our affection for you. We shall give you a protective charm such that all your descendants shall have power over the means that we give. /129/ When you make use of it, it will have effect; so also when your descendants make use of it." In this way La Dondorio received the nine sicknesses.

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In former times people were very afraid of them. When a contagious sickness prevailed in Poe'oe-mboto, it was thought that it had been sent by the Datoe, and then rice and chickens were collected in order to go and pay him honor (mepoee). The people were convinced that the Datoe had released one of the nine sicknesses because he was angry at something or other. The sicknesses that La Dondorio had brought along were of all sorts: stomach-ache, headache, fever. The people then went

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648 /129 cont./ The people then went
755 to ask forgiveness of the Datoe, the descendant of La Dondorio,
753 and then the Datoe gave medicine, charmed water, which was
M drunk by the sick, and then many became better. Sometimes
643 he gave a charmed piece of wood or curcuma; little pieces
of it were chewed and spit on the body of the sick person, or
it was rubbed with it. The water charmed by the Datoe was
kept in a bottle, and when a contagious sickness made its ap-
pearance, this water was mixed with a large quantity of ordinary
water, and at eventide when the chickens went to roost, all the
T people, large and small, were sprinkled with it; this was con-
[776] tinued until the sickness had gone away. In such times of sick-
ness no one should cross the road with a piece of wood or a spear
in his hand, because then many spirits roamed about, and if one
T of them was touched by the wood or the spear, he would make
753 the person sick. The physicians (sando) say that when a hornbill
776 (alo) flies across the road, one must say nothing about it, for the
825 bird is possessed by a spirit, and if one says something about the
bird, one is made sick by him (VIII, 28). Teka-teka
(Phoenicophaeus calyorinchus) and monkeys are also sometimes
possessed by spirits that bring sickness (napeontjoga).

M-L 15. The Datoe-ri-tana of Mori.

648 Some of the East Toradja brought their tribute to the Datoe-
643 ri-tana, the regional chief of Mori in the east of the country.
T This title means "ruler over the land." At the time, the last
[648] Datoe-ri-tana, Maroendoe, declared that the Datoe of Loewoe'
M had given him this title because his residence, Petasia, lay so
[648] far inland, in contrast to the Loewoe' residence Palopo, which
lay close to the sea. The Loewoe'ers, however, use this name
T as a term of derision for the Mori ruler.

M-L It was the tribes of the To Pakambia, To Pada, and To
648 Poe'oe-mbana, together with the subsidiary small tribes of the
M To Kalae, To Tananda, and To Watoe, that were subject to the
[648] Datoe at Petasia. Originally these Bare'e-speaking tribes must also

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• 648 have been subject to Loewoe', since the Datoe-ri-tana was
T formerly also a vassal of this ruler. Maroendoe, the last Datoe-
[648] ri-tana, who was shot down by the soldiers during the capture of
M-L his fortress Woela-nderi, told us that he was a vassal of Loewoe',
[643] that he had to deliver four slaves as tribute for the Datoe of that country and, in connection with the building of a palace at Palopo, had to take care of the /130/ fastening of the floor-boards with wooden pegs. When we asked him why he had never fulfilled these obligations, he answered indifferently "that during his reign things had not gone that far." We have already mentioned above that the Datoe of Loewoe' repeatedly had his subjects march against the Chief of the To Mori. The tribes who lived along the borders had to suffer most from the hostilities. (5).

5. Mr. O. H. Goedhart reports the following in his article, "Drie landschappen in Celebes-Banggaai /Three regions in Celebes-Banggai/," T. B. G., Vol. 50, 1908, p. 530): "The makoles Maroendoe and Ede as well as those of Toli-toli and Kangoewa frankly confessed to me that they were vassals of the Datoe of Loewoe' and would not refuse to follow a summons from the latter to come to Palopo. They acknowledged further that Mori was obligated to come to pay tribute annually at Palopo, on which occasion there was offered to the Datoe as homage: one slave (mea); three shields (kanta); one klewang (pisau); a quantity of tree bark beaten flat (boenta), and a quantity of wax (pantieng). For nine years, however, this obligation had not been fulfilled by Mori; the reason that Maroendoe and Ede gave for this is wholly identical with the one given to me by the Makoles of Matano and Noeha, the two Loewoe'

OG11 Toradja OG11
Makassar OG6 •
Mori-Laki OG7

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dependencies on which the region of the To Mori borders, and to whose chiefs Maroendoe is closely related, according to Loewoe' as well as Mori conceptions. -- For the sake of completeness I report here in addition that in connection with the building of a palace at Palopo the Makole of Petasia must take care of the fastening of the floorboards with wooden pegs."

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Loewoe' itself once undertook a campaign against one of the rebellious Toradja tribes, namely, the To Pada. In the old days Tempa was the main village of this tribe. This was laid waste by the Loewoe'ers under a certain Daeng Makita. For some time the To Pada then again brought tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. Encouraged by the bold attitude of the Datoe-ri-tana, the To Pada, under their high chief Papa i ngGowo, again turned away from Loewoe'. The Chief named said: "If there are still living descendants of Daeng Makita, who laid waste to Tempa, let them come here to see Tempa. The coconut trees have grown tall again, and the deer of Tempa have again shed their horns." This challenge was reported to the Datoe.

In 1903 the envoy of Loewoe', Ambe Ma'a, came to Lake Poso; he summoned all the subjects of his lord, even To Bada' joined in, and with a large army he marched on Tempa. As soon as the To Pada heard of the approach of the Loewoe'ers, they hid their possessions. Whatever was suitable for it, such as copper objects, was buried in the ground, and other goods were hidden in caves. The To Pada, however, quickly saw the uselessness of their resistance and surrendered. They had to pay a heavy fine. Shortly thereafter subjugation to the Government followed.

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16. The relationship of the Datoe-ri-tana to the Datoe of Loewoe'.

There is no longer anything known about the time when Mori was still a vassal state of Loewoe'. The fact that the Datoe-ri-tana /131/ had to deliver slaves as tribute indicates that Mori was formerly dependent on Loewoe'. All sorts of stories making the rounds in Toradja lands make it appear that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least equal in rank to the Datoe of Loewoe'. Thus the following is also told:

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The Datoe of Petasia, hearing that there was a mighty ruler at Palopo, decided to put his power and glory to the test. He sent him an iron rod which was bent into a loop (in the southern part of this area much iron is found). With this gift went the task of bending the rod straight. The Datoe of Loewoe' had a slave make the rod red-hot and bend it straight. In turn the ruler of Loewoe' sent to the Datoe-ri-tana a bar of baked sago, which, when still warm, had been bent into a loop, with the task of bending the sago straight. The Datoe-ri-tana did not succeed in doing this, because when he tried to do it dry, the sago threatened to break; if he put it in water, then the sago dissolved; and if he warmed it, then it stuck together. With this the Datoe-ri-tana acknowledged himself as the inferior of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

Shortly after this event the Datoe of Loewoe' came to visit the Datoe-ri-tana. They stayed up until late in the night talking with each other by the light of a resin torch, until all the occupants of the house were asleep. When the resin torch threatened to go out, the Datoe-ri-tana took a stick to poke up the resin, a task that otherwise was done by a slave or a younger member of the company. Then the Datoe of Loewoe' said: "Because you have poked up the resin of the torch, you declare yourself the lesser of us two and you must therefore pay me tribute." The other found this just and agreed.

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M-L /131 cont./
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Another story which apparently has come from the Mori side tells: In order to put the Datoe-ri-tana to the test, the ruler of Loewoe' sent him a piece of cotton with the message to take the threads out of this piece. The Datoe-ri-tana did this. In turn he sent the other a piece of beaten tree-bark with the request to take the threads out of it. Seeing that the ruler of Loewoe' was not successful in this, he had to acknowledge that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least his equal.

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17. The tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana.

That the rule of the Datoe-ri-tana is of more recent date than that of the Datoe of Palopo is evident from the fact that his subjects did not entertain the same superstitious fear of him as the subjects of Loewoe' had for their lord. He always received the messengers from his subjects himself, and the tone in which the Toradja spoke of him was not as respectful as when it was a matter of the Datoe of Loewoe'. The Datoe-ri-tana, too, had his representative among the To Pakambia, who bore the title of tongko. At the time when the Government came into this region, the Chief of Bentji held this office.

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The Bare'e-speaking vassal states of Mori showed their dependence on the Datoe-ri-tana by providing buffaloes whenever /132/ a member of the ruling house died or whenever their lord celebrated a great sacrificial feast. If a prince of the blood died, the To Poe'oe-mbana and the To Pakambia contributed 75 bars of wax, and the To Pada two buffaloes; if someone of lesser origin, but still related to the ruling house died, the contributions were 35 bars of wax and one buffalo, respectively. Only the To Pada are able to raise buffaloes on a large scale, because of the extensive grassy plain on which they live. Now and then the tall grass is burned off, and the young shoots then make excellent fodder for the buffaloes.

OG11 Toradja OG11
Western Toradja OG12
Makassar OG6
Loinang OG5

T W.T 648 175 /134 cont./ Their last expedition took place in March of 1894. One of our people was already settled in Poso at the time. On a certain day there appeared a large fleet of proas, with which the whole shore of Poso Bay was filled. Some 800 Parigiërs and other people who had joined them went ashore. The reason for this demonstration was to take revenge for the slaying of a Chief of the To Onda'e who was married to a member of the Parigi ruling house. The expedition failed, because the enemy forces were driven back by the Toradja. A prolonged war between To Pebato and To Parigi was the consequence of this, but because of the great distance they did not often seek each other out, with the result that this war caused few casualties. The influence of Parigi on the East Toradja has never been of great significance.

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20. The ruler (Djena) of Todjo.

T 648 [167] In the first chapter (I, 55 and 56) we saw how the tribes of the To Tora'oe, To Baoe, To Lalaeo, To Ampana, and To Wana were formed on the eastern peninsula during the spread of the Toradja over Central Celebes. They had moved so far from Wotoe and Palopo that there could no longer be any question of paying tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. One result of this was that these tribes were not protected against foreign enemies, from whom they suffered a great deal. Ternatans made repeated raids along the shores of Todjo and in doing so penetrated up to the To Baoe in the interior. The Toradja felt powerless against these gangs of robbers armed with guns. They heard how strong Parigi and the little realms in the Palue valley were under their rulers, and this led them to seek a ruler of their own who could bring unity among them and protect them against the enemy.

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T 648 643

M T 173 648 643 At that time (i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century), no ruler on Celebes was more powerful than the one of Bone, and therefore the people turned to him for support. The story tells that the Toradja tribes asked the Chief of Mowomba,

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whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroē ri Malingongĕng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/," T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boeginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boeginese retinue remained behind; the Boeginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

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Having arrived in Parigi, Ta Lamoa paid his respects to the ruler, Magaoe Djanggo, the same one who in the second half of the eighteenth century concluded a treaty with the East India Company, and informed him of the purpose of his trip. Magaoe Djanggo, however, had never heard of a Boeginese prince in his realm, but after a while Pile-witi was discovered. He at first denied being the one sought and refused to accept the honor offered to him. When the Boeginese who accompanied Ta Lamoa recognized him as the nephew of the ruler of Bone, he agreed to accompany Ta Lamoa. The latter asked the prince for proof of his divine origin. Pile-witi thereupon drew his sword, whereby a crack was heard, as if a gun had been shot. With the sword he cut through a roof beam of his little house, without getting up from his seat. When Magaoe Djanggo learned that the shabbily dressed man was a Boeginese prince, he offered his apologies for having let him live in destitute conditions.

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The company now started out in order to seek a suitable place to settle. The prince did not like the mouth of the Mapane, because mapane means "warm" (unhealthy). Poso made him think of the "stopping" of /136/ the breath (maposo inosa). In the names of the other rivers too he saw no good for the future; but when the name Todjo was mentioned to him, he decided to stay there, because he felt very fatigued (todjo) from the trip.

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The Toradja tribes on the eastern peninsula thus formed a separate society under the Djena of Todjo. This is to be understood in the sense that the Djena secluded himself in his place of residence and did not trouble himself with the internal affairs of his subjects. Only disputes between the tribes were settled by him. Otherwise the contacts of the Djena with his subjects were to serve only for getting from the people as much as there was to get. The Djena, in imitation of the Boeginese realms, maintained a court, which, however, was only a caricature of those found in South Celebes. He had around him various dignitaries who had nothing to do and who did not know what their tasks were.

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